

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
•156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

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 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have analyzed the circumstances surrounding the deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts--the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome--suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in the community. The analysis of cases in Section I summarizes the patterned components of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

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 [128] I THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
 37 HOMICIDE CASES

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18-22	5
	27-30	7
	34-38	7
	42-48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	75	1

(463)

Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus, betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

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 Eight of the victims--more than one-fifth of them--were curers, a much higher proportion than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

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 There is a personality type recognized by the community as distinctive of those who "get

682 themselves killed." When they see a man who
 156 is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power
 and of that of his animal spirit, they will re-
 mark: "That man is going to wake up dead"
 (sakub'inal *lamel*). When such a man is killed,
 no one complains, even among his immediate
 relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27,
 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked
 [562] why women do not get killed, the response was,
 "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 Setting

	Total	Down	After- noon	Even- ing	Night	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road						
out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring ham- lets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing
 in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All
 of the homicides in the streets of the town were
 committed at night, while those in the roads
 out of town near the milpa occurred in the late
 afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and
 security from discovery, the darkness of night
 is functionally equivalent to distance from the
 town center during the daytime. When I sug-
 gested that the killings might be reduced if the
 town would connect the lights that had been
 installed in the streets, the response was that
 when they had been in use, killings had in-
 creased. The lights helped the killer find his
 victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a
 drinking session. He would shoot out the light
 and then kill his victim.

682 The only killings in which considerations of
 579 space or time were ignored were those in the
 cantina during a drunken brawl, for in con-
 trast to the usual killing their onset was un-
 premeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the
 527 annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the
 579 fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town.
 The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an
 appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, al-
 though a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a
 sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune
 times are after a curing ceremony (six cases)
 [755] and after the gathering of curers during an
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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo'tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house owner.

[608]
[156]

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo'tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma i'awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya w'u*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely.

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These "short-range" rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

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[578]

These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

Preface

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,¹ communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *j*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term *Ladino* has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define *Ladino* as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined *Ladino* as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
 323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
 462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
 [593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
 [586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
 [461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass
 the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women
 who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have
 tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its infe-
 rior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighbor-
 ing towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their
 husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
 178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribu-
 tion is the water storage jar (See Plate 7).² They introduce new items in re-
 sponse to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into
 large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappear-
 ing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman
 who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid
 work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had
 a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ash-
 trays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ash-
 tray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, pre-
 sumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962-1963) has pointed out
 [171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
 [156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms,
 and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
 317 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
 592 on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
 [323] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is
 [423] found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women
 of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
 [482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty
 pounds which they carry in a net bag on their
 backs with a tumpline.

$\frac{1}{2}$ (see plates following p.198..Analyst)

Traditional Economic Activities

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of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435
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Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365
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The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardware includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444
[436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434
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472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

THE NEW SOCIAL RESOURCES

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
 578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
 608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
 571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
 692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's
 house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license,
 and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning
 the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple
 more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's
 house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get
 drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee
 and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my
 compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
 608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
 571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me²iltatil attend, both to
 578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
 182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the
 open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
 [293] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review
 of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me²iltatil for repairing personal relationships
 571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the community.
 608 In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recognizes
 578 the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the
 resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me²iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
 • 156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
 608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of behaving.
 571 I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side
 of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
 182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
 608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
 571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

Curing and Curers

143

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money.

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their *swayohel*. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a *swayohel*.

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their *swayohels* and their imperviousness to harm.

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what *swayohel* he had.

Curing and Curers

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symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged. 756
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Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients: 756
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And when I arrive at Paháton [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send them to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.³ Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later [796]

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

[584]

• 756 they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

756 The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The
156 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis-
593 puts than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been
578 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayohes, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al-
756 ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases de-
273 scribed seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the
156 curers about their status.
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756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In
156 Tzo'ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

CURING BEHAVIOR

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred
192 to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatln*. Despite the de-
554 clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of
178 belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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In the Eyes of the Ancestors

Sometimes a colicky baby

may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me²iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

The Competition for Power

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heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it.

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat'o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained.

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised *bárrio* of Yetawitz and is associated with the *kuriketik*, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role.

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone; and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.)

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[156].

The Competition for Power

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society. [156]

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians have played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit. [156]

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzo'ontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest. [156]

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzo'ontahal as a case [156]

Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation
of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzo'ontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

Roles, Persons, and Performance

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been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as *alférez* have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a
[774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of

[754] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of witchcraft. In the belief that their very survival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is
• [156] expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

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[554] 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the
[273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more
[276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

Roles, Persons, and Performance

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

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Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alferoces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alferoces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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571 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

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• 156
571 For example, a man can spend his household money in long drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his [626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

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The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

621 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other mis-
183 demeanors against the village norms.

621 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having
156 a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant
(even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics)
can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of
being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office,
or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his
capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos,
but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can
754 try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this
failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they
have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which
are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities.
Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man de-
velops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the
support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family.
He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible
to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village an-
tagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious oc-
casion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several
men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several
recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been
personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This
is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

621 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
571
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in
a united family commands more respect than a man whose children
are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be
permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are ex-
pected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good" mother-in-law
collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps
her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well re-
ceived, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other
women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of
his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him
from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much
labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from
his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not
create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as
possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

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621 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress
571 pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be
426 a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of
755 extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small pres-
476 ents of food to other households. He can make many compadres
431 [608] among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby
assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create
around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to
him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a
'leKil winik' (one that behaves well with the people), he can
"afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate
fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguaatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
75 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
77 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as inti-
mate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is,
because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power
given to the particular individual without the person's will having
control over its possession. Some people are born with good
suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given"
a particular suerte by a supernatural being¹ at some time in their
life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of
course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his
children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific
dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which
would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But,
he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

776 ¹The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary,
some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to
whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others
indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a
particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many,
and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and
control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

779 The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
538 local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs
such as suerte and brujería as unacceptable. Therefore, these be-
liefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales,
myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
787 lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through
his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
771 the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the
"true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular
relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of al-
ternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

MM would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die. the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.¹

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777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

[463]
[434] ¹There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
779 the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to
[609] themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if
they do not break community norms.)

The Macro-Structure: Barrios

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Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[191]

This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kelpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949: 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

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562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting,
584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

• 156
571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [153] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from vergüenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 Boys (kerem and tek'el) do not have as many restrictions
562 of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are
[868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.

883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free
562 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla
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342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one
or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have
become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
591 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in
it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A
very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man
house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and can-
not buy materials for building a better place. The house also
tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his fam-
ily are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how
much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to
him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much
"ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with
ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms,
windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is
not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
527 ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
582 and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation
of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification
between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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[583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

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888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one
[591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio
[606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593
578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
(621) could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
(423) help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
(476) ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
man is residing, and they also risk the concomitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
(593) modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some
few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell.
Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary
exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cul-
tural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for
wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps
milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn
and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the cus-
tomary standard of living.

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621
156 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

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592
156 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the
ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. There-
fore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he
has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity
which allows him to do so.

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.

"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
•156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

OOO village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of
Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
562 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
428 example will also show.
578

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed
rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son
was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay
for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se
fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's
milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law
took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was
born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he
is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally
had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

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based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."

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But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

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The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*ak'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferéz, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomero*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *ni' anil ku' ka'*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *zali' bal*, the assistant to the *kobraría*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

(P 215-A)

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[829]

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activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraría* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraría* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

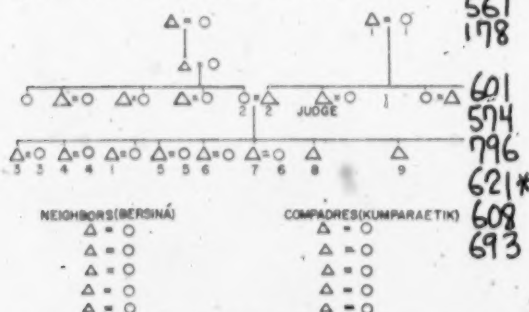


CHART 3 - ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for *mayordomos* (*tatil* and *nié' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalii* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, *síndico*, *principales* and *fiscales* in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *sa sis*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

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The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The *alfereces*, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and *síndico* help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraría*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

[621]*

[624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraría* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64-74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of *alferez*, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

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In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

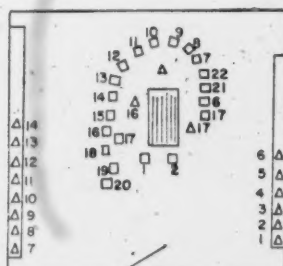
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as a team. Thus the junior (*nič'anil*) and senior (*tatil*) officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetih*, the group of elders

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[867]



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CHART 8 - INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on *alferez* assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious

inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanchetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.¹⁰ As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanchetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

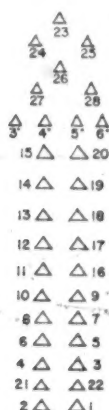
The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" (*pa'teletik te sa e'ulna*) and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" (*pa'teletik te sa e'ulna*). If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

¹⁰ This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and nonverbal,



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CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

- 3'-6' Alferoces
- 23 Guitarist (*alpuitero*)
- 24, 25 Firecracker lighters (*tomesi n'bak*)
- 26 Flautist (*yamas*)
- 27, 28 Drummers (*stihik sk'ayobik*)

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

[P. 221-B)

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

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[P 226-B]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80-84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unflinching use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 39) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

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